

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA NIACT IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 206640

LIMDIS-FOR MOOSE FROM HARROP

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SA, PFOR

SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS - CONGRESSIONAL BRIEFINGS

FOLLOWING ARE OUR DRAFT TALKING POINTS FOR USE IN TELE-
PHONE CALLS TO CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS:

1. -- AMBASSADOR YOUNG IS CURRENTLY IN AFRICA, ACCOMPANY-
ING BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN. THEY ARE PRESENTING
TO THE PRINCIPAL PARTIES OF THE RHODESIAN DISPUTE THE
ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS FOR ENDING THAT CONFLICT AND FOR
MOVING RHODESIA TO MAJORITY RULE AND INDEPENDENCE. THE
PLAN IS TO BE MADE PUBLIC AND PUBLISHED AS A BRITISH
WHITE PAPER LATER THIS WEEK, AND WE WANTED TO LET
YOU KNOW THAT IT WOULD BE COMING OUT.

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2. -- THESE PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED AFTER MONTHS
OF CONSULTATIONS AND REPRESENT A FAIR AND REASONABLE
SOLUTION WHICH WILL MEET THE LEGITIMATE DEMAND OF THE
AFRICANS FOR IMMEDIATE MAJORITY RULE WHILE CREATING A
GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY IN WHICH ALL CITIZENS WILL FEEL
SECURE.

3. -- ESSENTIALLY THE PLAN HAS THREE ELEMENTS. THE FIRST IS A CONSTITUTION FOR THE INDEPENDENT STATE, THE OUTLINES

OF WHICH ALL THE PARTIES WOULD AGREE TO AT THE OUTSET OF THE PROCESS. IT CALLS FOR A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT ON THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE, AN ENFORCEABLE BILL OF RIGHTS, AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY, AND GUARANTEES OF PENSION AND PROPERTY RIGHTS. THE LEGISLATIVE BODY WOULD BE BASED ON SINGLE MEMBER CONSTITUENCIES BUT IT WOULD IN TURN ELECT, AT LEAST TEMPORARILY, TWENTY SPECIAL MEMBERS TO REPRESENT MINORITY COMMUNITIES. THE EXACT WORDING OF THE CONSTITUTION WILL HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT IN FURTHER DETAILED DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PARTIES. THE BRITISH WILL PROBABLY CALL A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE TO COMPLETE THIS PROCESS DURING THE TRANSITION.

4. -- THE SECOND ELEMENT INCLUDES THE TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. SMITH WOULD STEP DOWN AND THE BRITISH WOULD APPOINT A RESIDENT COMMISSIONER TO ADMINISTER THE COUNTRY AND PREPARE IT FOR NATIONAL ELECTIONS. A UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WOULD BE ON HAND TO OBSERVE AND ADVISE ON THE PROCESS. A UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE WOULD HELP TO INSURE PEACE, BUT THE EXISTING RHODESIAN POLICE, MINUS SOME OF ITS LEADERSHIP, WOULD SERVE AS THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER'S PRINCIPAL BULWARK IN MAINTAINING LAW AND ORDER.
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5. -- DURING THE TRANSITION THE OPPOSING ARMIES WILL BE PHASED OUT AND NEW ARMY, BASED PREDOMINANTLY ON THE NATIONALIST FORCES, WILL BE CREATED FOR THE INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT.

6. -- THE FINAL ELEMENT OF THE PROPOSALS IS A MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE EFFORT FOR THE INDEPENDENT STATE WHICH WILL HELP REVIVE THE ECONOMY, CREATE NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR BLACKS, AND PROVIDE ENOUGH ECONOMIC SECURITY FOR WHITES TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO STAY. THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND IS NOT A BUY-OUT PLAN FOR WHITES. OUR GOAL IS AN ECONOMICALLY PROSPEROUS, NON-RACIAL STATE.

7. -- WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE "INTENT OF CONGRESS" LANGUAGE IN THE 1977 INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ACT (FOR FY 78) WHICH STATES THAT "CONGRESS INTENDS TO AUTHORIZE THE NECESSARY APPROPRIATION WHEN PROGRESS TOWARD SUCH AN INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED SETTLEMENT WOULD PERMIT ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FUND."

8. -- WE WILL SOLICIT EXPLICIT CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL FOR THE FUND WHEN THERE HAS BEEN ENOUGH POLITICAL PROGRESS IN THE RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS TO MERIT THE INTRODUCTION OF APPROPRIATE LEGISLATION.

9. -- THE BRITISH INTEND TO PRESENT THE PLAN TO THE UN. IF THERE IS GENERAL AGREEMENT AMONG ALL THE PARTIES, THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL WILL BE ASKED TO NAME A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND TO ESTABLISH THE UN FORCE. IF THERE IS STRONG AFRICAN BACKING FOR THE PROPOSALS, IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE SOVIETS OR THE CHINESE WILL TRY TO TORPEDO THE PEACE ENDEAVOR.

10. -- HOWEVER, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE UN WILL NOT ACT
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UNTIL THERE IS GENERAL AGREEMENT, WHICH IS THE CENTRAL PURPOSE OF THE OWEN-YOUNG TRIP.

11. -- THE INITIAL REACTIONS ARE MIXED. WE THINK THE PLAN CONTAINS ENOUGH REASONABLE ASPECTS TO CONVINCE THE FRONT LINE STATES AND NATIONALISTS THAT THEY CAN ATTAIN THE GOAL OF MAJORITY RULE WITHOUT MORE FIGHTING. AT THE SAME TIME WE BELIEVE IT MAKES REASONABLE PROVISIONS TO PROTECT THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THOSE WHITES WHO WISH TO STAY, AND TO BRING ABOUT AN ORDERLY TRANSITION.

12. -- SMITH WILL NEED TO BE CONVINCED THAT THE PLAN REPRESENTS THE BEST DEAL HE CAN GET. WE ARE ASKING FOR SOUTH AFRICAN SUPPORT IN MAKING THIS KNOWN TO SMITH. THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT REALIZES THAT A SOLUTION WHICH BRINGS AN END TO ARMED WARFARE IS CLEARLY IN ITS OWN INTEREST AND UNDERSTANDS THAT OUR RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA, ALREADY UNDER CONTINUOUS REVIEW, MAY SUFFER IF THEY DO NOT COOPERATE.

13. -- WE MUST BE REALISTIC. MAJOR UNRESOLVED QUESTIONS REMAIN AND WE CANNOT BE SURE THAT THE PARTIES WILL UNDERSTAND THAT THIS IS THE LAST BEST CHANCE FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. WE WILL CONTINUE TO TRY TO GET THEIR AGREEMENT. VANCE

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